

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ACDA-07 IO-13 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05
DHA-02 COME-00 EB-08 NEA-10 CU-02 STR-04 LAB-04
SIL-01 AF-08 BIB-01 /126 W
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R 222002Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5381
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 3806

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, CSCE, MBFR, SALT, UR, US, XG
SUBJECT: BREZHNEV'S TRADE UNION SPEECH: FOREIGN POLICY ASPECTS

REF: MOSCOW 3705

SUMMARY: BREZHNEV'S TOUGHLY WORDED SPEECH TO TRADE UNION
CONGRESS MARCH 21 GIVES HIS SOMBER REFLECTIONS ON THE
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STATE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS ON EVE OF SECRETARY
VANCE'S ARRIVAL IN MOSCOW (REFTEL). APART FROM HIS
TOUGH COMMENTS ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE AND ITS
EFFECT ON THE OVERALL RELATIONSHIP, WE ARE STRUCK BY THE
FACT THAT THE SPEECH DOES NOT IN THE MAIN INDICATE
THAT BREZHNEV'S AGENDA HAS CHANGED MUCH SINCE HIS
JAN. 19 TULA SPEECH, ALTHOUGH WE SEE INDICATIONS

THAT HIS CONCERNS ABOUT SPECIFIC ISSUES ARE DIFFERENT.
END SUMMARY.

1. ASSUMING DEPARTMENT HAS FBIS AND/OR TASS TEXT,
WE HIGHLIGHT HERE MOST SIGNIFICANT FOREIGN POLICY
ASPECTS OF THE SPEECH (MIDEAST PORTIONS,
SEPTTEL).

--THERE IS NO CRITICISM OF U.S. POSITION ON
SALT AND SUBJECT RETAINS ITS PLACE AT HEAD OF U.S.-
SOVIET DETENTE AGENDA. REFERENCE TO VLADIVOSTOK
(THE NAME IS NOT USED) IS TO AN ACCORD "BASICALLY
AGREED TO IN 1974," THUS SUGGESTING THAT ALL DETAILS
ARE NOT CUT AND DRIED. POSSIBILITY OF SALT III IS
HINTED AT IN SAME SENTENCE AS "FURTHER ADVANCE ON
THIS BASIS TO A MUTUAL REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS
THROUGH THE STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF
EQUALITY AND IDENTICAL SECURITY FOR THE TWO SIDES."

--ON THE U.S. AGENDA FOR DETENTE, BREZHNEV
GIVES SECOND PLACE TO POSSIBLE JOINT INITIATIVE
ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS BEFORE MOVING ON TO THE
DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC TIES (SEPTTEL)
AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

--EXTENSIVE ATTENTION IS GIVEN TO MBFR ALTHOUGH
NO NEW GROUND IS BROKEN. INSTEAD BREZHNEV USES
THE OCCASION TO LAUNCH AN APPEAL TO WESTERN PARTI-
CIPANTS ("ESTEEMED PARTNERS IN THE TALKS") TO AGREE
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TO FREEZE FORCES AT PRESENT LEVELS AS "THE FIRST
REAL STEP" ON THE ROAD TO REDUCING ARMAMENTS.
BREZHNEV ALSO NOTES THAT WESTERN FORCE LEVELS HAVE
BEEN RISING AND CLAIMS EASTERN LEVELS HAVE NOT
INCREASED. TO FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF THE WEST WOULD
BE "A NEGATIVE EXAMPLE", HE STATES, AND THE EAST
"WOULD NOT WISH" TO DO SO.

--CTB GETS MENTION AND SUPPORT, BUT FAR REMOVED
FROM SECTION ON U.S.- SOVIET TOPICS AND WITH NO
REFERENCE TO POSSIBLE BILATERAL STEPS. RATHER HE
REASSERTS THAT THE "FULL CESSATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPON
TESTS WILL COME ONLY A AND WHEN ALL NUCLEAR POWERS
BECOME PARTICIPANTS IN THE TREATY."

--BREZHNEV'S ANALYSIS OF CSCE ATTEMPTS TO PORTRAY CONFIDENCE ABOUT
BELGRADE. IN LISTING THE "MAIN TASKS" OF THE MEETINGS HE LISTS
"NOT ONLY" THE SUMMARIZATION OF WHAT HAS BEEN DONE BUT ALSO THE
NEED TO AGREE ON "CONCRETE RECOMMENDATIONS AND

PROPOSALS CONCERNING QUESTIONS OF FURTHER COOPERATION" IN DEVELOPING AND STIMULATING FUTURE ACTION.

--IN CONTRAST TO STRONG CRITICISM OF U.S. ADMINISTRATION, EUROPEAN LEADERS COME IN FOR RESTRAINED PRAISE FOR SUPPORTING DETENTE. FRANCE AS THE FIRST TO MOVE TOWARDS DETENTE STILL, ACCORDING TO BREZHNEV, "TO A CERTAIN EXTENT" ENJOYS A PREFERENTIAL POSITION. WEST GERMANY MERELY GETS THE NOTE THAT MUCH CAN AND MUST BE DONE TO COMPLETE WHAT HAS BEEN UNDERTAKEN. BREZHNEV EXPRESSES THE HOPE THAT HIS VISITS TO FRANCE AND FRG WILL GIVE A NEW IMPETUS TO RELATIONS WITH THOSE COUNTRIES. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN, PARTICULARLY THE "PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION OF POLITICAL LIFE" RECEIVED FAVORABLE MENTION.

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--FINALLY, HIS BRIEF REFERENCES TO AFRICA INCLUDE MENTION OF "INTERFERENCE BY NATO COUNTRIES IN ZAIRE" AND AN UNSPECIFIED CAMPAIGN OF SLANDERS AGAINST ANGOLA. IMPERIALISTS ARE ALSO CONDEMNED FOR THE ASSASSINATIONS IN CONGO AND LEBANON.

2. COMMENT: THE VERY NEGATIVE COMMENTS OF BREZHNEV ABOUT THE STATE OF CURRENT U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS MAKE THIS SPEECH MUCH DIFFERENT FROM THE TULA SPEECH OF JAN. 19 WHEN BREZHNEV WAS OUTLINING HIS DETENTE AGENDA ON THE EVE OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION TAKING OFFICE IN WASHINGTON. WE ARE ALSO STRUCK, HOWEVER, BY THE REPETITION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MANY OF THE SAME THEMES IN THIS SPEECH ON THE EVE OF THE ARRIVAL OF SECRETARY VANCE IN MOSCOW. THE MAIN ELEMENTS ARE STILL SALT, MBFR, CSCE, AND THE MIDDLE EAST, WITH CW REPLACING NON-PROLIFERATION AT LEAST ON THE BILATERAL U.S.-USSR AGENDA.

3. ALSO, WE SEE A CERTAIN PROGRESSION IN BREZHNEV'S THOUGHTS AS EXPRESSED ON THESE TWO OCCASIONS. ON SALT HE FOCUSED ON AND DID NOT GO BEYOND THE NEED TO IMPLEMENT VLADIVOSTOK IN THE TULA SPEECH, WHILE HERE HE ADDS A REFERENCE TO WHAT LIES BEYOND SALT II ("FURTHER REDUCTIONS"). ALSO IN TULA BREZHNEV'S CONCERN ABOUT BELGRADE WAS EVIDENT IN HIS COMMENTS ABOUT THE INADMISSIBILITY OF PRESSURE IN CSCE TO "TEACH US TO LIVE ACCORDING TO (WESTERN) RULES". THE PRESENT SPEECH RESERVES FOR THE U.S. THE ADMONITION THAT THE SOVIETS CANNOT ACCEPT "WASHINGTON'S CLAIM TO TEACH OTHERS HOW TO LIVE." BREZHNEV'S CSCE

COMMENTS, IN CONTRAST, ATTEMPT TO PORTRAY CONFIDENCE AS
IF HE HAS RECEIVED SUFFICIENT SIGNALS THAT HE HAS
LESS TO FEAR IN BELGRADE THAN HE THOUGHT IN JANUARY,
BUT MORE TO WORRY ABOUT FROM THE U.S. TO A MORE
LIMITED EXTENT THIS SAME MAY BE SEEN IN HIS REFER-
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ENCES TO THE MIDDLE EAST (SEPTTEL) WHICH IN JANUARY
STRESSED THE NEED FOR RECONVOCATION OF THE GENEVA
CONFERENCE, WHILE NOW HE MENTIONS GENEVA BUT
FOCUSES ON THE ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED IN GENEVA,
AS IF THE MEPC IS TAKEN MORE AS A FACT RATHER THAN
AN ISSUE.
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Message Attributes

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